

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS

AMEMBASSY BANJUL BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI BY POUCH

XMT AMEMBASSY BANJUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY SUVA

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 250103

UNESCO

FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM USUN NEW YORK 21 DEC 73 SENT ACTION  
SECSTATE INFO GENEVA REPEATED TO YOU

QTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 5727

IO/UNP FOR STULL

UNESCO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNGA

SUBJ: THE 28TH GA, A SUMMARY ASSESSMENT

1. SUMMARY. US INTERESTS WERE WELL SERVED BY MOST  
MAJOR DECISIONS TAKEN DURING 28TH GA. US ACHIEVED  
PRINCIPAL GOALS IT HAD SET FOR ITSELF, INCLUDING  
APPROVAL OF 1974 WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE, CONVENTION ON  
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PROTECTION OF DIPLOMATS, AND WORKABLE SYSTEM FOR UNEF  
FINANCING. US ALSO DEFEATED OPPOSITION MOVES SERIOUSLY  
DETRIMENTAL TO ITS INTERESTS, SPECIFICALLY THOSE ON  
CAMBODIA AND KOREA. FACT THAT IN LATTER TWO INSTANCES,

US WAS SATISFIED TO PREVENT UNACCEPTABLE GA ACTION  
UNDERLINES HOW MARGIN OF VICTORY FOR US ON MANY IMPORTANT  
ISSUES IN UN HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY THIN, AND IN SOME  
CASES HAS CEASED TO EXIST. OBSERVABLE TRENDS OVER PAST  
THREE MONTHS IN UN INCLUDE A) GROWING COHESION OF NON-  
ALIGNED, MITIGATED TO SOME EXTENT BY CONCOMITANT GROWTH  
IN RESPONSIBLE BEHAVIOR; B) GROWING RELUCTANCE  
OF WEO'S AND LA'S TO RESIST NONALIGNED EVEN AT THEIR WORST;  
C) CONTINUED, PERHAPS SLIGHTLY DIMINISHED, WILLINGNESS  
OF SOVIET BLOC USE UN FORUMS TO ISOLATE AND DISCREDIT  
US; D) EXPANDED ACTIVITY OF CHINA IN WORK OF GA; E) IN-  
CREASING EMERGENCE OF EC-9 POSITIONS FREQUENTLY AT VARIANCE  
WITH USG STANCE. SECRETARY KISSINGER'S EARLY APPEARANCE  
IN GA, US PROPOSAL FOR WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE, AND MOMENTUM  
OF US MIDDLE EAST DIPLOMACY ENABLED US TO MAINTAIN  
INITIATIVE DURING 28TH GA. HOWEVER ON BALANCE CURRENT  
TRENDS IN UN ARE RUNNING AGAINST US, RAISING STRONG  
POSSIBILITY THAT NEXT ASSEMBLY, UNDER PRESIDENCY OF ALGERIA,  
MAY BE LESS SUCCESSFUL FOR US THAN THIS ONE. END SUMMARY.

2. GA ACCOMPLISHMENTS - THE 28TH GA ACCOMPLISHED ALL USG  
HAD REALISTICALLY HOPED, AND AVOIDED THAT WHICH IT HAD MOST  
SERIOUSLY APPREHENDED. PLANS FOR A WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE,  
PROPOSED BY SECRETARY KISSINGER IN HIS SEPTEMBER 24 SPEECH  
TO GA, WERE FIRST MET WITH INTENSE HOSTILITY BY NONALIGNED  
ON QUESTION OF TRADE ISSUES IN CONFERENCE. HARD NEGOTIA-  
TIONS IN ECOSOC AND FAO, HOWEVER, RESULTED IN MUTUALLY  
ACCEPTABLE TERMS, CLEARED WAY FOR GA RESOLUTION CO-SPONSORED  
BY MORE THAN 30 NONALIGNED CALLING FOR CONFERENCE TO BE  
HELD AS EARLY AS NOVEMBER 1974 IN ROME. NONALIGNED ALSO  
JOINTED IN 87- NATION SPONSORSHIP OF RESOLUTION TO HOLD  
SPECIAL SESSION OF GA IN SEPTEMBER 1975 JUST PRIOR TO  
REGULAR SESSION, FOR BROAD REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENT AND  
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION, TO WHICH US ATTACHES  
CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE.

WORKING ON BASIS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION  
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DRAFT, GA SIXTH COMMITTEE PRODUCED AND GA PLENARY ADOPTED  
CONVENTION ON PROTECTION OF DIPLOMATS, A MAJOR STEP IN  
EFFORT TO CONTROL INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. EVEN HERE,  
HOWEVER, AFRO-ASIAN OBSESSION WITH DECOLONIZATION ALMOST  
BROUGHT ABOUT FAILURE. DESPITE, OR PERHAPS BECAUSE OF  
GREAT HEAT GENERATED BY MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, GA WAS ABLE  
TO AGREE ON METHOD TO FINANCE UNEF OPERATIONS ACCEPTABLE  
TO BOTH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS, AND  
AT SAME TIME AVOID DEBATE OR RESOLUTIONS ON MIDDLE EAST  
WHICH WOULD HAVE COMPLICATED SITUATION. ASSEMBLY ALSO  
AVOIDED WHAT LOOKED TO BE BRUISING CONFRONTATION ON KOREA,  
AGREEING ON THOSE ASPECTS OF SITUATION WHERE CONSENSUS WAS  
POSSIBLE, TAKING NO ACTION ON OTHER. MOVE TO REPLACE

CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES WITH THOSE OF SIHANOUK WAS DEFEATED, FOR THE MOMENT, BY HARI THIN MAJORITY (53-50) IN FAVOR OF DEFERMENT, AND SUBSEQUENT EFFORT TO WITHHOLD APPROVAL OF CAMBODIAN CREDENTIALS WAS DEFEATED 55-50. GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADMITTED TWO GERMANIES, AND BY SO DOING ALLOWED US SCALE OF ASSESSMENT FOR UN BUDGET TO FALL TO 25 PERCENT, WITHOUT INCREASING THAT OF ANY OTHER MEMBER.

3. NEGATIVE FACTORS -- THOSE ISSUES ON WHICH US WAS DEFEATED, OR ON WHICH ITS POSITION UNDERWENT SIGNIFICANT EROSION, WERE FOR THE MOST PART OF LESS IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCE TO PRIMARY US INTERESTS. NEVERTHELESS SOME ARE SIGNIFICANT, ESPECIALLY AS TRENDS LIKELY TO GAIN MOMENTUM IN FUTURE.

(A) NONALIGNED AND SMALL NATIONS AS A WHOLE SHOWED INCREASING DISINCLINATION TO ALLOW MAJOR POWERS TO OCCUPY SPECIAL POSITION WITHIN THE UN SYSTEM. THEY HAVE SOUGHT WITH SOME SUCCESS TO INCREASE MEMBERSHIP IN VARIOUS UN COMMITTEES AND TO MAKE THEM MORE "REPRESENTATIVE" OF TOTAL MEMBERSHIP. THIS MAY BE LAST YEAR THAT US CONTROLS CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE. INFLUENCE OF MAJOR DONORS OVER UN BUDGET THROUGH ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY QUESTIONS WAS CHALLENGED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. SPLIT ON BUDGETARY DISCIPLINE IS WIDENING, BETWEEN LARGE CONTRIBUTORS WITH FEW VOTES AND VAST MAJORITY WHOSE ASSESSMENTS ARE MINIMAL. NO PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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SECURITY COUNCIL SUPPORTED BUDGET FOR NEXT BIENNium, WHICH INCREASED AN UNPRECEDENTED 24 PERCENT (IN PART INEVITABLE BECAUSE OF DEVALUATION AND INFLATION). AT OPENING PHASE OF LAW OF SEA CONFERENCE, WHICH COINCIDED WITH CLOSING DAYS OF ASSEMBLY, AUTOMATIC RIGHT OF SECURITY COUNCIL PERMANENT MEMBERS TO SIT ON MAJOR UN COMMITTEES, IN THIS CASE STEERING AND DRAFTING COMMITTEES, WAS SUCCESSFULLY CHALLENGED. US WON SEAT ON BOTH, ALTHOUGH ONLY AS ADDED MEMBER OF THE WEO GROUP, AND NOT ON CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE. ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE SHOWED AN INCREASED INTEREST IN TRADE AND MONETARY, AS OPPOSED TO STRICTLY DEVELOPMENTAL ISSUES, AND GROWING SOPHISTICATION IN USE OF UN SYSTEM TO PROJECT THEIR VIEWS. AS BACKDROP TO ATTITUDE OF SMALL NATIONS TOWARD GREAT POWERS WAS THEME WHICH RECURRED INSISTENTLY DURING GENERAL DEBATE: WHILE WELCOMING DETENTE, MANY NATIONS EXPRESSED CONCERN LEST GREAT POWERS DISREGARD INTERESTS OF OTHERS, MAKE MAJOR DECISIONS BY SELVES.

(B) ON MOST ISSUES RELATING TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, WHETHER IN CONNECTION WITH HUMAN RIGHTS OR DECOLONIALIZATION, US FOUND ITSELF INCREASINGLY UNABLE TO INFLUENCE

CONTENTS OF RESOLUTIONS AND FORCED TO VOTE WITH TINY MINORITY -- OFTEN WITH ONLY PORTUGAL AND SOUTH AFRICA -- WHILE WEO'S SHOWED LITTLE OR NO INCLINATION TO OPPOSE OR MODERATE MILITANT AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS. ALTHOUGH SOME OF RESOLUTIONS MAY BE DISMISSED AS RHETORIC, AND CERTAINLY ARE UNENFORCEABLE, INTENSITY OF FEELING IS CLEAR AND US ISOLATION ON THESE ISSUES HAS A PRICE: GROWING IDENTIFICATION OF US, TRADITIONALLY SPOKESMAN FOR SELF-DETERMINATION, WITH LAST FORCES OF COLONIALISM. FURTHERMORE, INCREASED FRUSTRATION OF RESOLUTIONS' SPONSORS (CHIEFLY BUT BY NO MEANS SOLELY AFRICAN) EVIDENCED ITSELF IN VOTES AGAINST US ON OTHER ISSUES OF LITTLE DIRECT INTEREST TO THEM BUT OF IMPORTANCE TO US, SUCH AS CAMBODIAN REPRESENTATION AND, MOST MARKEDLY, IN INCREASING WILLINGNESS TO RAISE QUESTION OF PUERTO RICO.

4. THE NONALIGNED - GROWING COHESION AMONG NONALIGNED, PARTICULARLY ITS ARAB-AFRICAN CORE GROUP, HAS BEEN THEME OF SEVERAL MISSION REPORTS. NOTABLE ELEMENT IN NONALIGNED CONFIDENTIAL

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BEHAVIOR IS NOT WHAT THEY ARE SAYING BUT WHAT THEY ARE DOING ABOUT IT. THE PROGRAM OF 1973 ALGIERS NONALIGNED CONFERENCE DID NOT DIFFER GREATLY FROM THAT OF 1970 LUSAKA CONFERENCE. NOW HOWEVER, FOR FIRST TIME NONALIGNED HAVE ACHIEVED DEGREE OF COHERENCE IN PUTTING PROGRAM INTO EFFECT. THEY HAVE TENDED TO USE NEWLY REALIZED VOTING POWER RESPONSIBLY, TO THE EXTENT THAT RESPONSIBLE BEHAVIOR COULD BE SEEN TO ADVANCE THEIR INTERESTS. THUS IN ECONOMIC AREA AND MIDDLE EAST, US AND NONALIGNED DID AVOID UNRESOLVABLE CONFRONTATIONS, AND OFTEN REACHED ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENTS. ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN RELATED ISSUES, HOWEVER, NONALIGNED SEE NO ACCEPTABLE MORE MODERATE WAY TO ADVANCE THEIR CAUSE, AND CONSEQUENTLY USED VOTING STRENGTH TO RACK UP HUGE MAJORITIES ON UNENFORCEABLE, ALTHOUGH PSYCHOLOGICALLY SATISFYING, RESOLUTIONS (E.G. GUINEA-BISSAU).

5. CHINA - MAJOR PARADOX CHINA FACES IN UN POLICY IS HOW TO REAP BENEFITS OF GREAT POWER STATUS WITHOUT APPEARING TO ACT LIKE ONE. IN GENERAL, CHINESE HAVE CONTINUED TO ALIGN THEMSELVES WITH MOST RADICAL ELEMENT OF NONALIGNED, AND HAVE BEEN WILLING TO ESCHEW CERTAIN GREAT POWER PREROGATIVES TO PROVE SINCERITY (E.G. CHINESE POSITION, AT THE OPENING OF THE LOS CONFERENCE, THAT PERMANENT SC MEMBERS DID NOT HAVE AUTOMATIC RIGHT TO COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS.) CHINA MAY ALSO NOT INSIST ON ITS POINT OF VIEW IF NONALIGNED PURSUE DIFFERENT COURSE. IN SUCH CASES, CHINA CONTINUED SELECTIVELY TO USE "NON-PARTICIPATION" TACTIC. BUT IT SHOWED DETERMINATION TO PLAY A KEY ROLE ON OTHER QUESTIONS, TOOK AN INITIATIVE ON CHINESE AS A WORKING UN LANGUAGE, AND IN GENERAL GREATLY EXPANDED ITS ACTIVITIES DURING THE GA. SOVIETS REMAIN

NUMBER ONE CHINESE TARGET HERE. WHILE CAREFULLY MAINTAINING EXCELLENT PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH US AND APPARENTLY NOT GOING OUT OF ITS WAY TO SEEK CONFRONTATION, CHINA IS QUITE WILLING, AS ON ISSUE OF CAMBODIA, TO ENGAGE IN SELECTIVE ANTI-US RHETORIC.

6. NON-COMMUNIST ASIA - UNLIKE AFRICANS, LATINS, ARABS, EES AND WEOS, NO FORMAL EAST ASIAN CAUCUS OR REGIONAL GROUP HAS EVER EMERGED IN UN. THIS YEAR, HOWEVER, CAMBODIAN REPRESENTATION ISSUE GALVANIZED NON-COMUNIST EAST ASIAN  
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STATES OF INDONESIA, THAILAND, PHILIPPINES, SINGAPORE, MALAYSIA, FIJI, LAOS, NEW ZEALAND, AUSTRALIA (TO MORE LIMITED EXTENT), AND PARTICULARLY JAPAN, TO COOPERATE IN PREVENTING GA'S SEATING SIHANOUK. THIS EAST ASIAN COHESION SUGGESTS POSSIBILITY THAT NON-COMMUNIST EAST ASIANS, HAVING FOUND REST OF NONALIGNED UNRESPONSIVE TO THEIR CONCERNS, MAY MOVE TOWARD MORE COHERENT GROUPING IN UN, AND THAT JAPAN MAY SEEK LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THIS GROUP. THERE ARE MANY OBSTACLES, HOWEVER, INCLUDING ASIAN SUSPICIONS OF THE JAPANESE. SUCH A GROUP PRESUMABLY WOULD BE SUPPORTIVE OF US POSITIONS ON MOST ASIAN ISSUES, BUT ALSO LIKELY TO INFLUENCE JAPAN TOWARDS NONALIGNED POSITION ON OTHER MATTERS. JAPAN'S GROWING RELUCTANCE TO OPPOSE NONALIGNED ON MIDDLE EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTAL ISSUES WAS APPARENT DURING 28TH GA.

7. SOVIET BEHAVIOR - SOVIETS AND THEIR EE ALLIES CONTINUED TO MAKE USE OF NONALIGNED'S FIXATION WITH RACIAL AND COLONIAL ISSUES TO ISOLATE US AND TO KEEP PRESSURE OFF THEMSELVES IN HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD. SOVIETS WOULD IN ALL LIKELIHOOD HAVE PLAYED SIMILAR GAME WITH THE MIDDLE EAST, HAD NOT EVENTS OF OCTOBER CONVINCED THEM FOR MOMENT OF DANGER OF EXACERBATING A TENSE AND DELICATE SITUATION BY STIRRING UP THE GA. EVEN WHEN US AND USSR WORK IN COOPERATION, LATTER DOES SO WITH GREAT CAUTION TO PRESERVE ITS CREDENTIALS WITH THIRD WORLD. SOVIET PROPOSAL TO TRANSFER MONEY FROM MILITARY BUDGETS TO DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE (ROB) DEMONSTRATES EXTENT TO WHICH SOVIETS HAVE BEEN STUNG BY CHINESE ARGUMENT THAT SUPERPOWER DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BROUGHT NO BENEFIT TO THIRD WORLD.

8. WESTERN EUROPE - IN UN AS ELSEWHERE, EEC HAVE MANIFESTED GREAT DEGREE OF UNITY, OCCASIONALLY EXPRESSING JOINT POSITION ON POLITICAL AS WELL AS ECONOMIC MATTERS THROUGH SINGLE DESIGNATED SPOKESMAN. FROM US VIEWPOINT, MOST NOTABLE DEVELOPMENT IN WESTERN EUROPEAN BEHAVIOR AND ONE AT LEAST PARTIALLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO MOVE TOWARDS UNITY, IS THEIR GROWING RELUCTANCE TO STAND UP AGAINST NONALIGNED. A MORE FLEXIBLE US POSITION ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN MATTERS WOULD PROBABLY HAVE GENERATED

MORE EUROPEAN SUPPORT AND GREATER EUROPEAN EFFORTS TO  
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MODERATE NONALIGNED POSITION. HOWEVER, UNTIL EUROPE  
FEELS MORE SECURE IN ITS NEW IDENTITY, AND UNTIL ITS  
CAPACITY FOR POLITICAL COORDINATION TRANSCENDS THE  
SEARCH FOR THE LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR, EUROPE,  
IN UN AS ELSEWHERE, WILL SEEK TO DISTANCE ITSELF FROM  
US, AND WILL NOT BE ABLE TO MAKE HARD DECISIONS NECESSARY  
TO RESIST MAJORITY (I.E. NONALIGNED) PRESSURES. AN  
UNRESOLVED QUESTION IS EXTENT TO WHICH UK, HAVING JOINED  
COMMUNITY AND US.

9. CONCLUSION - THE 28TH GA CLOSES ON A RECORD OF SOLID  
ACHIEVEMENT, WHICH, WHEN ADDED TO THE UN'S HANDLING OF THE  
MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, HAS LED TO RENEWAL OF OPTIMISM CON-  
CERNING UN'S POTENTIAL AMONG MANY MEMBER DELEGATIONS, AS  
WELL AS GENERAL PUBLIC. AT SAME TIME, GROWING COHESION  
OF NONALIGNED MAJORITY IN UN, AND GROWING AWARENESS OF  
THEIR ABILITY TO USE ORGANIZATION FOR OWN PURPOSES, IS  
CAUSE FOR CONCERN. IF ONE COULD ACCURATELY PREDICT  
FUTURE AS STRAIGHT LINE PROJECTION OF CURRENT TRENDS,  
THERE WOULD BE GOOD REASON TO FORESEE EARLY EMERGENCE  
OF A UN DOMINATED BY NONALIGNED, UNRESPONSIVE TO US  
INFLUENCE, OPPOSED TO US POLICY ON MOST ISSUES, AND BY  
REASON OF THIS CONFLICT, REDUCED TO IMPOTENCE. OF ALL  
UN MEMBERS, HOWEVER, NONALIGNED AS A GROUP HAVE LEAST  
INTEREST IN SEEING UN SYSTEM WEAKENED OR DESTROYED.  
NONALIGNED WILL USE THEIR VOTING POWER TO PUSH US SOMEWHAT  
FASTER THAN IT IS INCLINED TO GO ON ISSUES OF INTEREST  
TO THEM, BUT WILL NOT NORMALLY SEEK CONFRONTATION UNLESS  
THEY BECOME CONVINCED THAT COMPROMISE WILL GAIN THEM  
NOTHING, AS THEY ALREADY BEHAVE WITH REGARD TO SOUTHERN  
AFRICAN ISSUES. THE US CAN AND SHOULD USE VARIOUS TACTICS  
TO DETER NONALIGNED FROM REDUCING UN TO A MERE SOUNDING  
BOARD, DIVORCED FROM POWER REALITIES AND HINDERING RATHER  
THAN HELPING DEVELOPMENT OF A VIALBE STRUCTURE OF INTER-  
NATIONAL LAW. THIS CAN ULTIMATELY BE DONE ONLY IF  
NONALIGNED CONVINCED THEY HAVE MORE TO GAIN FROM  
AN EFFECTIVE UN, SUPPORTED BY THE US, THAN FROM A WEAK  
ONE, IN CONFLICT WITH IT.

OTHER CABLES FOLLOW, ANALYZING SPECIFIC POINTS IN MORE DETAIL.  
SCHAUFEL UNQTE KISSINGER  
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NOTE BY OC/T: POUCHED BANJUL, TAIPEI.

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

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SAIGON

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